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ABSTRACT

This pamphlet on labor history highlights some of labor's economic and political actions during the past 200 years. The purpose is to provide inspiration and motivation for greater participation in union work. The introduction explains the purpose of unions--to pursue economic independence and social stature for all individuals--for defenseless people, minorities, aged, and youth. The booklet contains short historical descriptions of labor topics, each accompanied by an illustrative picture. Topics include descriptions of colonial indentured servants; early factory conditions; the first strike by Cordwainers; workingmen's political parties; Negro slave labor; the end to slavery after the Civil War; the melting pot; higher education as a union cause; the squalid life of miners; the Haymarket Riot; birth of the AFL; the Pullman strike; working women; the seamen's fight; the Wobblies; steel unions; political friends of organized labor; economic depression of 1930s; formation of CIO; the Reuther brothers; battles between labor and industry; Labor's Magna Charta; collective bargaining; and the slogan "Bread, Freedom, and Peace." An accompanying film and set of posters can be obtained for rent or purchase from the UAW Education Department, 8000 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit, Michigan 48214. (ND)

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An Illustrated History of Labor Unions in America

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TOWARD ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

This Union Cause is about the hopes, the fears, the experience and the aspirations of people—working people—men and women, and their struggle for economic security, human dignity and the well-being of their families.

A panoramic flash-back over the ebb and flow of the great struggles in labor's history reveals that This Union Cause has not changed—perhaps the geography, the terrain, even the country and the names and faces may be different—but This Union Cause is the same.

It is not known when the first man placed a price tag on his sweat and his muscle power and peddled them in the market-place; but it is suspected that even in that unknown transaction, the individual seller operated at a distinct disadvantage. The economic scales were tipped in favor of the buyer.

The manifest destiny of This Union Cause is to balance the scales and to achieve economic justice and equity for the men and women who "earn their bread by the sweat of their brow."

The men and women of our union, marching beneath the battle flag of the UAW have made a mighty contribution to This Union Cause. But our success and achievements of the past are matched, if not eclipsed, by the awesome challenges of tomorrow.

The extent to which we meet these challenges will depend in large part upon a comprehensive understanding of the labor movement—where we come from and where we are going.

This pamphlet is a telescoped version of labor history, focusing on some of the highlights of labor's economic and political action, spilling across 200 years as working men and women joined hands in solidarity to do battle in unequal contests.

For our membership, today, I believe a study of labor history can provide the inspiration and motivation to greater participation in *This Union Cause*.

Leonard Woodcock

Leonard Woodcock,
President, UAW

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"this union cause"

An Introduction

This Union Cause . . .

has for 200 years been, simply, the cause of American working men and women, those who became adults with nothing to bring a livelihood but the skill of their hands and the strength of their backs.

Once, as indentured servants and slaves, these men and women helped create a new nation out of an untamed wilderness.

Today, their grandsons and daughters, through the unions formed by their fathers, enjoy the blessings of that nation. They enjoy good pay for their labor, insurance against sickness, assistance when laid off through no fault of their own, security in their old age and education for their children.

A seldom-publicized illustration of a unique protection that workingmen, their families and their communities have achieved through unions—and only through unions—is the system known as SUB—supplemental unemployment benefits. These were negotiated originally by the UAW in 1955 but by now are a provision in contracts written by other unions as well, among them the USA (steel workmen), the IUE (electrical workmen) and the URW (rubber workmen). These company-paid benefits in time of lay-off are added to the often-low State unemployment compensation. They have not only cushioned the crisis of unemployment for the workingman and his family; they have also proved to be a financial shock absorber for the economy of the community in which the workingman lives.

These and other numerous collective bargaining achievements have been won because . . .

This Union Cause . . .

has been dedicated to the pursuit of economic independence and social stature for the individual. The instrument for achieving these goals has been the union contract. But the collective bargaining agreement did not

spring full bloom from benevolent employers, eager to improve the lot of the American citizen.

True, some employers perceived the virtues behind union insistence upon economic security for the workingman and his family. These companies recognized two very important principles—first voiced by unions—that wages must keep pace with rises in the cost of living, and that the paycheck should reflect the workingman's rightful share in the rising industrial productivity.

In 1948 the UAW was able to incorporate into its contracts an "escalator" clause to protect the workingman's income as the cost of life's necessities rises or falls. Since that time this principle has been incorporated into most union contracts.

Of equal historic significance, in the 1948 negotiations, the UAW established firmly in its contracts the basic principle that a workingman's pay should rise as the nation's productivity increases. This principle—the annual improvement factor—has since assured the workingman that his standard of living will constantly improve as the nation's productivity continues to rise.

These are but a few examples of the mutually beneficial results which are reflected in collective bargaining when intelligent employers and enlightened union leaders, supported by a staunch union membership, resolve their problems in an atmosphere of civilized economic discussion. But the history of collective bargaining and union organizing is also, unfortunately, marred by ugly, shameful episodes of brutality displayed by stubborn employers refusing to share with their workingmen the fruits of America's industrial progress.

As a result, the advance achieved by This Union Cause have been at great personal sacrifice by many courageous and dedicated union members and their leaders who struggled, fought, bled and even died to make social and economic justice a reality. Beatings by employer-hired thugs such as those suffered by UAW officials in the long-to-be-remembered Battle of the Overpass at Ford Motor Co. on May 26, 1937 were the price paid by many workingmen who were forced into economic battle armed only with their indomitable convictions, because . . .

This Union Cause . . .

has been the cause of the defenseless. Not always, even in America, could the majority of workingmen raise their heads from the machine and speak back to an arrogant supervisor or send their elected representative to negotiate settlement of a dispute with their employer. Now they can.

This Union Cause . . .

has been the cause of minorities. The succeeding waves of migration to these shores have brought millions of men and women of every race, color, religious creed and national extraction. There has been no more influential an instrument than This Union Cause in overcoming prejudice toward them and among them.

This Union Cause

has been the cause of the aged. The employer-paid pension that enables an old man to sit in peace in his rocker and smoke his pipe has not been a gift from the private enterprise system. It was fought for by unions as a fair payment for past labor. It was in 1949 that members of the UAW, rallying to the slogan, "Too Old to Work, Too Young to Die," threatened to strike unless their employer, Ford Motor Co., provided their older brother unionists with pensions paid by the company, jointly administered and fully funded. This, too, is a collective bargaining achievement since embraced in the contracts of many other unions. Just as the twilight of life for workingmen has been mellowed and enriched, so have the futures of these workingmen's children, because, at the same time . . .

This Union Cause . . .

has been the cause of the young. From their inception, working men's unions have fought to establish the principle of free public education as a right, not a privilege. Unions fight for the principle of national health security as a right, not a privilege. Unions fight to improve and humanize working conditions, for the right of all workers to a guaranteed annual income, and for earlier retirement with adequate and assured pension benefits.

This Union Cause . . .

is the cause of the future. Two centuries ago not all men and women in America were free. Some were indentured servants, others were slaves. Today, not all men and women in the world are free. Some are slaves to ignorance and superstition. Others are indentured to totalitarian masters. But the American adventure in freedom, strengthened by the achievements of American unions, is offering other working men and women in other nations, new and old, a chance to find freedom, dignity and security through . . .

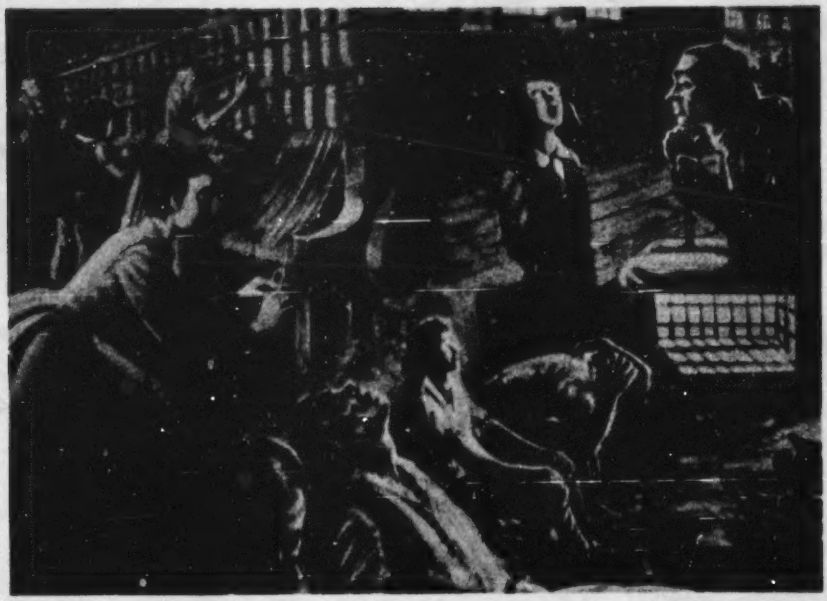
This Union Cause . . .

here reviewed for you in pictures.

The Colonial Days

INDENTURED SERVANTS, shown disembarking from a ship from England, were one of three main sources of labor in America in the 1600s. The others were prisoners and slaves. To be indentured meant that these men, women and children agreed to repay passage to America by working without wages for years wholly under the control of masters who bought them like oxen. The demand for able-bodied workers was so great that colonial merchants' agents scoured Europe offering imaginary inducements. These glittering promises, coupled with an anxious desire to escape poverty, led thousands to enter indenture—a harsh existence of exhausting labor, on a meager diet, with movement restricted to the place of work and terms of service extended for even the pettiest of claimed offenses. Protests at this hideous system of hire grew, but it was to be decades before indenture disappeared as a way of life for many American workmen.

Early Social Conditions

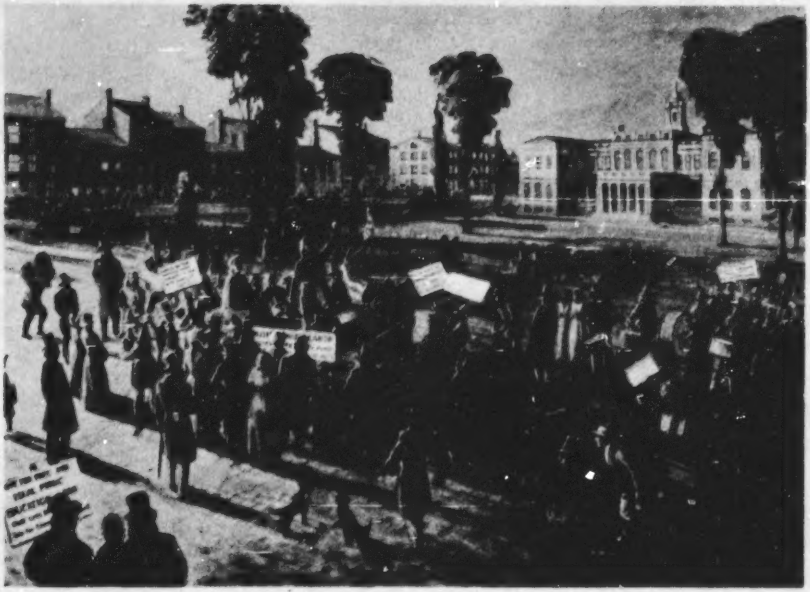


LONG, BODY-WRECKING HOURS at machines in filthy mills were all factory workers could look forward to in the early 19th century in America. The workweek was six days "from sunup to sundown," usually 75 hours in the winter and 82 in the summer. Furthermore, 58% of northern cotton mill workers were women, while 7% were children under 12. Leisure was frowned on; education, if any, came though charity; and there was always the threat of debtor's prison. Under this barbaric practice at least 75,000 people were thrown into disease-ridden jails every year for debts often so petty that Massachusetts records 18 cases involving altogether debts of only $155. A shorter workweek, an end to debtor's prison and free public education became the dream of a few. But these few were men determined to find a less wretched life for themselves and a brighter future for their children.

One of the First Strikes

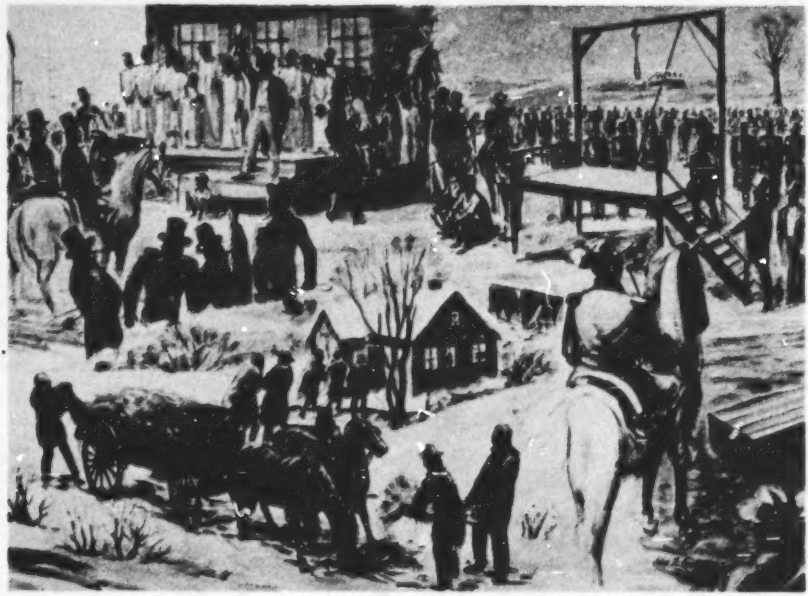
CORDWAINERS were journeymen shoemakers, some of whom banded together in the early 1800s. To oppose them, employers turned to the courts. Six times between 1806 and 1815 the Cordwainers were tried for "criminal conspiracy" charged with "combining unlawfully" to raise their wages. Prosecutions were based upon English common law, even though independence had been won and there were no statutes forbidding such associations. Defense attorneys argued that the "conspiracy" doctrine violated the spirit of the U. S. Constitution, but their efforts were in vain. Cordwainers and others were always found guilty. Not until 1842 did a high court set aside "conspiracy" indictments. That charge was no longer to plague workmen's associations, but courts sympathetic to employers later found another weapon with which to harass unions—the injunction. But workmen did not stop trying to organize. Furthermore, they became politically conscious.

Workers Enter Politics



WORKINGMEN'S POLITICAL PARTIES began with the Mechanics' Union of Trade Association in Philadelphia. Soon the movement spread throughout New England and as far west as Ohio in at least a dozen states. Briefly, these groups were highly influential, either electing their own candidates or holding the balance of power between the major parties in local elections. With the rise of President Andrew Jackson many of their goals were absorbed by the Democratic Party until by the late 1830s, workingmen's parties had largely disappeared. But labor had won political recognition. Free public education continued to be an unfulfilled demand, but there were advancements in other directions. For instance, in 1840 President Van Buren's executive order established the 10-hour workday on government projects. Truly, free men had begun to realize some of their rights. Still left, however, was the most odious practice of all—slavery.

Slave Labor

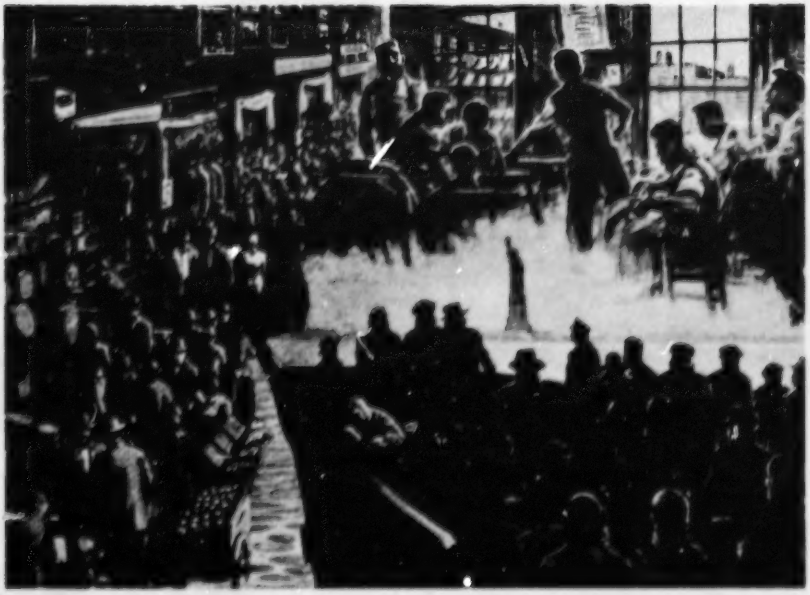


THOUSANDS OF NEGROES were shanghaied from Africa to America in the 1700s and sold into slavery at auctions. By 1850, there were at least 4 million slaves in the U.S. The "free" population in Southern states outnumbered them only two to one. On this foundation of human misery, the South had erected an agricultural economy in which a few thousand slave owners were rich and politically powerful. Northern opposition was symbolized by "underground railroads" through which hundreds of Negroes were smuggled to freedom. Further resentment against slavery flamed with the execution of John Brown in 1859. An "abolitionist," he had tried to launch a revolt of slaves by capturing a federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Va. He failed and was hanged. Within two years, Civil War between the agricultural South and the heavily industrialized North was to rip America and an inhuman system of forced labor was about to topple.

A New Birth of Freedom

THE CIVIL WAR brought an end to slavery with President Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation but for the working man it created a new economic crisis. War profiteering that enriched the manufacturer triggered inflation that cut deeply into the lower, relatively-fixed incomes of wage earners. By 1863, tightly-knit groups of workmen were protesting this injustice with strikes. President Lincoln's policy generally was to keep the government out of strikes. "Labor," he said in 1864, "is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration." Bolstered by this encouragement, the number of trade unions rose rapidly from 79 in 1863 to 270 in 1864 when it was estimated that some 200,000 workmen had joined unions, 32 of which were nation-wide organizations. The working man's effort to protect himself through unions was moving ahead, but his organizations soon were to face a growing problem—a rising tide of immigration.

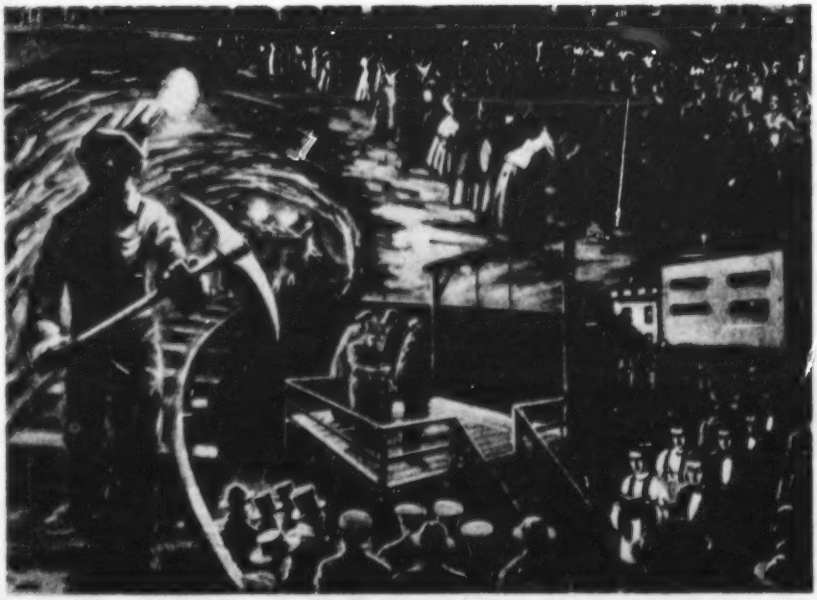
The Melting Pot



MILLIONS OF IMMIGRANTS streamed into America in the later 1800s. Fugitives from poverty and oppression in Europe, they came aflame with dreams. But "the streets of gold" they found were crowded, rat-infested slums in New York, Boston or Philadelphia where a dozen or more people might have to live in one dreary tenement room. The "land of opportunity" they had looked forward to turned out to be sweatshops that paid wages as low as $2 a week for laborers and only $11 a week for the highly skilled. Still, they came to work in steel mills, lumber camps, coal mines and garment factories where they worked 14 to 16 hours a day. Gradually, these stifling conditions drew protests from the immigrants who joined in idealistic political reform movements. From these, they leaned to the growing American labor organizations which they invigorated with their demands for a better life that included higher education for their children.

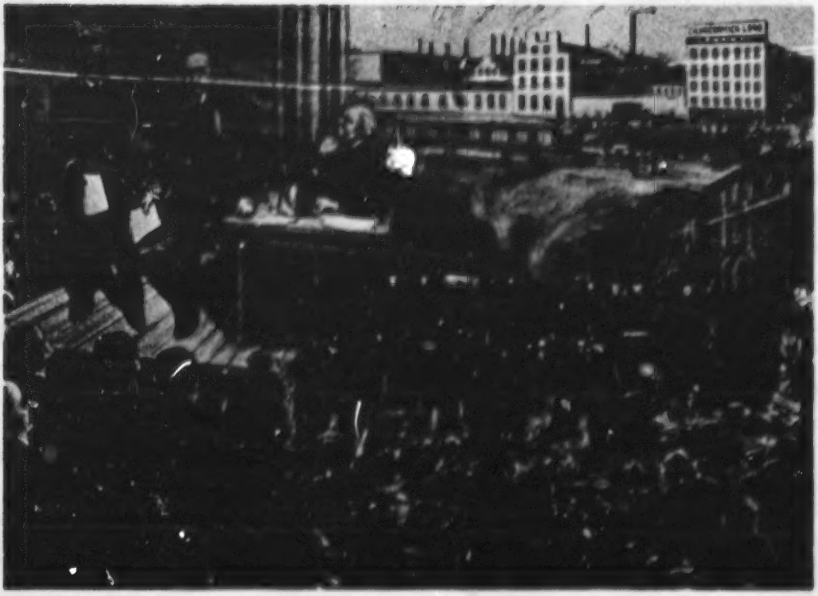
HIGHER EDUCATION for some workmen's youngsters finally began with the 1862 Morrill Act setting up federal land grants for state colleges. In 1866 came realization of another goal, the first National Labor Congress ever convened in the United States. Its president was William H. Sylvis (lower left). He had spent his entire adult life organizing iron moulders into what was then the largest union "because," as he said, "I love this union cause more dearly than life itself." This growth reflected the entire nation's expansion. The Homestead Act sent settlers creaking westward in wagons soon to be followed by puffing locomotives on rails spanning the land coast to coast. Back east, financiers forged giant corporations and trusts in the basic industries. Men found themselves insignificant cogs toiling for employers they never saw, a new industrial relationship calling for a new kind of union. Among the first to try to build such a union were the coal miners.

The Miners' Struggle



LIFE WAS SQUALID in the Pennsylvania coalfields. Boys sent into the mines before they were 10 were old at the age of 14. Such misery led to formation of a miners' union, but it was smashed in a strike in 1874 when owners got troops and Pinkerton private police to escort scabs (strike breakers) into the pits. The owners' violence preventing open organization forced miners into a secret society, the "Molly Maguires." They were broken up, however, when betrayed by a Pinkerton spy in their ranks. Ten Mollies were hanged on evidence later proved false, but the owners' goal of preventing immediate organization of an effective miners' union was achieved. Later, the United Mine Workers led by John Mitchell were to reach a membership of 300,000 by 1908, an amazing achievement for that era. But meanwhile, in the 1880s, the future of America's workmen seemed to lie with an organization known as the Knights of Labor.

The Haymarket Riot

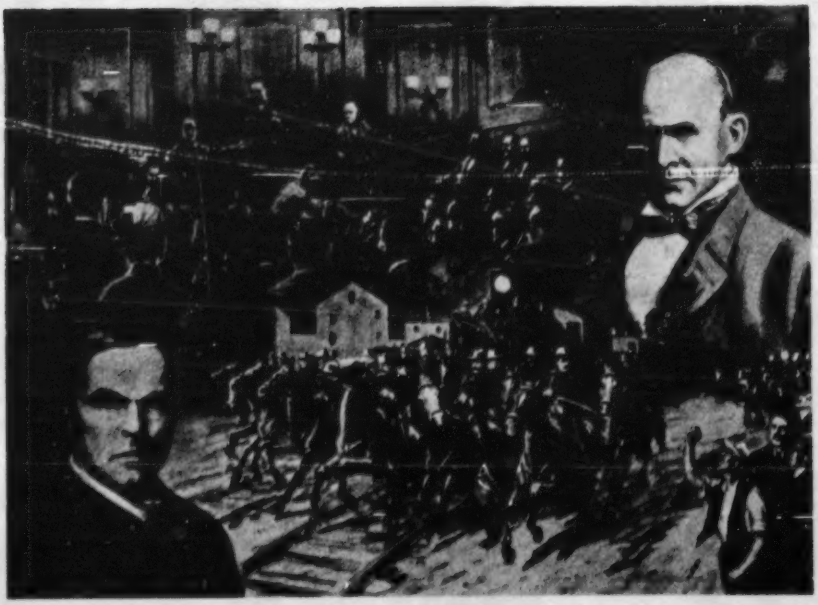


"UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD" was the creed of the Knights of Labor, formed in 1869 as a union for all trades. Within a mere 15 years, the Knights attracted 700,000 members led by Frank J. Farrell, Terence V. Powderly and Gen. Fitzhugh Lee, shown upper left. One of their aims was an 8-hour day. The Knights' had already begun to decline when armed strikebreakers killed four workmen locked out of McCormick's International Harvester plant in Chicago on May 3, 1886. At a protest meeting next day in Haymarket Square a bomb was thrown, killing one of 180 policemen who opened fire, killing 10. Newspapers whipped up public hysteria against the "Haymarket Anarchists." A trial ensued. Four were hanged. Six years later the workmen's innocence was revealed, but too late for the executed and for the Knights who in the face of public disfavor dwindled away. Their major successor was to be the American Federation of Labor.

Birth of the AFL

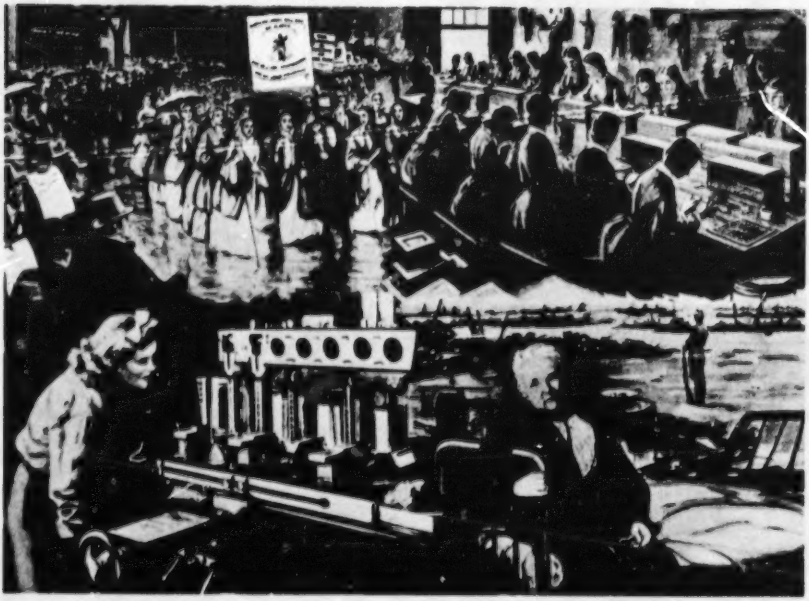
A CIGARMAKER and a carpenter were to create two of the workingman's landmarks, the AFL and Labor Day. The carpenter was Peter J. McGuire (upper left) of New York who suggested setting aside the first Monday of September as Labor Day. The first observance in 1882 was celebrated with a mammoth parade in New York City. The cigarmaker was Samuel Gompers, who became labor's foremost spokesman for a third of a century. An immigrant from England, Gompers went to work at the age of 13 in a cigar factory, where he gleaned much of his early learning from the union's practice of reading aloud to workmen on the job (upper right). When the AFL (American Federation of Labor) was formally launched in 1886, Gompers was elected its first president, a post he held until his death in 1923. The cause of unionism was rising, despite such setbacks as the 1894 Pullman strike, in which the government broke a union.

The Pullman Strike



THE PULLMAN STRIKE of 1894 was a frightening example of how the federal government could use an injunction to break a strike and cripple a union. American Railway Union members had walked off the job when the Pullman company, sleeping car manufacturers, fired three grievance committeemen. Pullman wouldn't negotiate, refused to arbitrate and locked out the workmen, who launched a boycott that spread to other rail companies. An association of executives from 24 railroads imported strikebreakers and through influence with U. S. Attorney General Olney had them sworn as federal deputies. The cavalry was also called in. Olney obtained an injunction along with indictment of Eugene V. Debs (upper right), the union leader. Debs was dramatically defended by famed attorney Clarence Darrow (lower left) but was sent to prison. The strike was broken. The struggle was uphill but men could count on women to support the cause.

Women at Work



WOMEN'S UNION ACTIVITY dates back to 1833 when shoe binders in Lynn, Mass., formed a "Female Society" to protect their wages and backed it up with a strike in 1840 (upper left). Their part in defense work began in the Civil War with them filling cartridges in the Watertown (Mass.) Arsenal (upper right) and continued through World War II when the performed industrial jobs ranging from assembly to inspection (lower left). Legendary women in union history include one known simply as Mother Jones (lower right). She served in the miners' 1914 strike remembered as the "Ludlow Massacre" because Colorado militia machine gunned two men and 11 boys and set fire to strikers' tents suffocating 13 women and children. But of all the many such chapters of employer brutality few were more prolonged or shocking than the treatment endured by seamen in their efforts to achieve a decent living.

The Seamen's Fight

LIFE AT SEA was for centuries bleak and hopeless. Often shanghaied into service and branded as mutinous if they struck, seamen were utterly at the mercy of their employers. Their life was aptly described by one of their legendary union leaders, Andrew Furuseth (upper left), when threatened with jail during a strike. "They cannot put me in a smaller room than I have always lived in," he said. "They cannot give me a plainer food than I have always eaten. They cannot make me lonelier than I have always been." Effective organization began in 1878 with formation of the Lake Seamen's Union to be consolidated with other groups into the International Seamen's Union in 1895. Another milestone was the Seamen's Act of 1915, known as the "Magna Charta of the Sea." Among other things, it limited working hours at sea to 56 a week. Seamen were making headway. Steelworkers were not so fortunate.

The Industrial Workers of the World: The Wobblies

THE MESSAGE OF THE WOBBLIES was spread through periodicals, pamphlets, poems and songs like Ralph Chaplin's "Solidarity Forever." Their philosophy and militant, effective strikes at Lawrence, Massachusetts and Paterson, New Jersey, were milestones in the labor movement. Founded in Chicago in 1905, the IWW's main objectives were to organize "one big union" and form a cooperative commonwealth. Involved in historical strikes, trials and fights for freedom of speech were "Big Bill" Haywood (upper left); Elizabeth Gurley Flynn (center); Joe Ettor and Arturo Giovannitti (upper right) and Joe Hill, (left).

Unions in Steel

THE COAL AND IRON POLICE, as the Pennsylvania constabulary was known, spread terror through squalid steel towns in the early 1900s. Steelworkers' wages were pitifully low for an average 69-hour work week. But an organizational drive began in 1918 and so bitter were conditions that within a year 100,000 steelworkers joined unions. Demands for collective bargaining were ignored by the industry leader, U.S. Steel Corp. A strike called in nine states was greeted by strike breakers and martial law. In Gary, Ind., 18 workmen were killed. The strike was crushed, but before the men began drifting back to work, the unions asked the Interchurch World Movement, a Protestant organization, to make an inquiry into the strike. Their report said: "The United States Steel Corporation was too big to be beaten by 300,000 workingmen." But the workingmen were to find that they did have some liberal friends in the 1920s.

The Worker's Friends

ORGANIZED LABOR'S FRIENDS in the 1920s and 1930s included Sen. Robert M. LaFollette (upper right), Wisconsin Progressive. His efforts on behalf of liberal legislation earned him labor endorsement when he ran for President in 1924 on an independent ticket. Another stalwart liberal was Sen. George W. Norris (lower right), of Nebraska. A Republican, he was often attacked by his own party for his development of such projects as the Tennessee Valley Authority and the anti-injunction act he co-sponsored in 1932 with Fiorello LaGuardia (lower left), then a Congressman, later New York's Mayor. This law barred federal courts from issuing injunctions indiscriminately and strengthened the workingman's right to complete freedom of association. In this era, membership in the AFL, led by William Green (upper left), rose from 3 million to 8 million. But depression was to stun the nation in the 1930s.

The Depression of the 30's

BREADLINES symbolized the Great Depression which swamped the U. S. economy after the October 1929 stock market crash. By 1933 nearly 14 million working men—one out of three—were unemployed. Industrial production dropped over 50%. Jobless men sold apples on street corners. Millions evicted from their homes lived in clusters of shacks dubbed Hoovervilles after President Herbert Hoover (upper right), whose conservative policies failed to halt the nation's downward skid. World War I veterans formed the Bonus Army and marched on Washington to plead for help, only to be shot at and driven away at bayonet point. By that time nearly 20 million people were on public relief. President Hoover's slogan "prosperity is just around the corner" did not restore confidence. The depression got worse. Then hope for millions of workmen rose with the forming of a great new labor organization—the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Organizing the Industrial Workers

THE CIO WAS FORMED basically because the AFL's organizing efforts were centered on the skilled craftsmen, leaving millions of mass-production workmen unrepresented by unions. An organizational disagreement led eight leaders of international unions in the AFL to set up a Committee for Industrial Organization on Nov. 9, 1935. The AFL expelled them, but within two years CIO membership skyrocketed to nearly 4 million in such industries as steel, autos, rubber and textiles. Among these early CIO leaders were: (top row) Max Zaritsky, hatters' union; Charles P. Howard, typographers; John L. Lewis, coal miners, first CIO president; David Dubinsky, ladies' garment workers; Harvey C. Fremming, oil workers; (bottom row): Sidney Hillman, clothing workers; Thomas F. McMahon, textile workers, and Thomas H. Brown, mine, mill workers. Famed columnist Heywood Broun (lower left) organized the Newspaper Guild.

The Reuther Brothers

WHEN THE LABOR MOVEMENT began to apply the new strategy of industrial unionism in the 1930's, three remarkable brothers came to the fore in unionizing a key American industry. They were Walter P. Reuther, 1907-1970, Roy L. Reuther, 1909-1968, and Victor G. Reuther, born 1911. The five Reuther children were brought up by their parents, Valentine and Anna, in a family atmosphere of unionism and liberal thought. Valentine Reuther, brought to America from Germany as a child, was one of the nation's youngest labor leaders at age 23 in Wheeling, West Virginia. He taught his children that working people have a right to human dignity, security and equality, and that life's greatest satisfaction lies in serving mankind. Imbued with this philosophy, the three Reuther brothers went out to organize auto workers into the UAW and to help them win a better life through the bargaining table and the ballot box. Crucial in the organization of the UAW was the dramatic sitdown strike in General Motors.

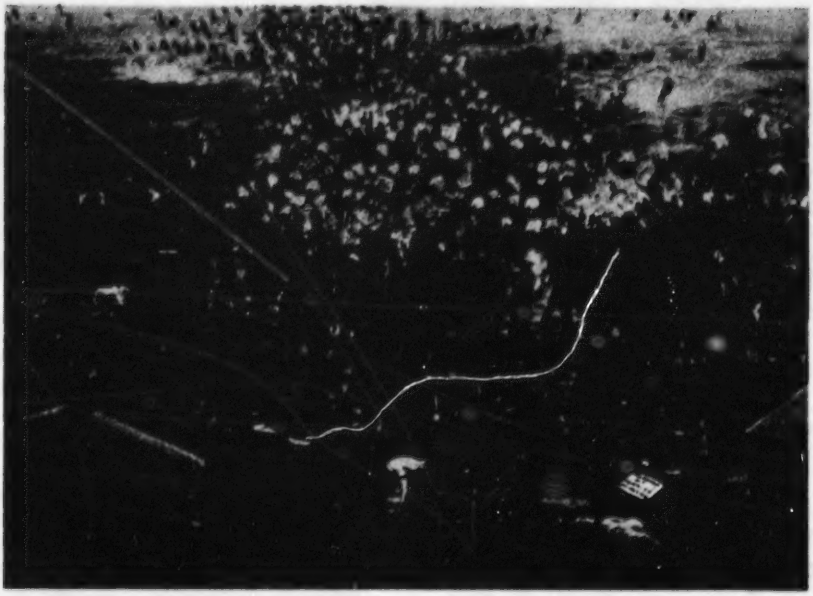
The UAW Struggle

THE SITDOWN STRIKE was the dramatic method used by the UAW to obtain recognition from the auto industry's leading firm, General Motors Corp. When workmen sat down in 17 GM plants in December 1936 and January 1937, what could have been a bloody episode in American history was averted by Michigan's humanitarian Gov. Frank Murphy (upper right with CIO's John L. Lewis). Instead of ordering the National Guard to drive the strikers out at gunpoint, Gov. Murphy used the troops to maintain peace. GM's recognition of the UAW Feb. 11, 1937 spurred auto workers to join the union. Membership mushroomed from 30,000 in the spring of 1936 to 10 times that within 15 months. Eventually it went over 1 million, and the UAW was to become a collective bargaining forerunner, pioneering in pensions, cost-of-living increases and supplemental unemployment benefits. But before these came, death still stalked unions.

Battle of the Overpass

UAW's drive to organize Ford workers reached its "moment of truth" on May 26, 1937, when the naked brutality of a company, determined to preserve the open shop and to rule its workers by terror, was revealed to the whole world. On that day the infamous "Battle of the Overpass" occurred. Fifty trade unionists, led by Walter Reuther, were attempting to distribute handbills to Ford workers at an overpass outside the huge Dearborn, Michigan Ford River Rouge plant. They were suddenly and savagely set upon by a band of armed Ford Company "Service" men. When the carnage had cleared, one unionist suffered a broken back; one sustained a skull fracture and nearly all had bloodied noses. This bloody episode pointed up the sacrifices made by Ford workers to achieve such benefits as grievance procedure, seniority rights, paid vacation, supplemental unemployment benefits, pension payments upon retirement—and the promise of more gains to come.

Memorial Day - 1937



A MASSACRE—10 dead and more than 100 wounded from shots in the back—horrified the nation Memorial Day 1937. The gunmen were police. The victims were steel workmen and their wives and children peacefully picketing Republic Steel's South Chicago, Ill. plant where the CIO Steel Workers Organizing Committee led by Philip Murray (later CIO president) was trying to get union recognition from the company. Other steel firms had signed SWOC contracts, but a group of smaller companies, including Republic, called "Little Steel," refused to sign. Republic further defied the National Labor Relations Board by firing union sympathizers. The workmen struck for recognition and Republic collected an arsenal of machine guns, rifles, shotguns and tear gas. Testimony later revealed the police had planned the shooting. Fortunately, newsreel cameras filmed the entire massacre. Shocked public opinion led to a Senate investigation.

F. D. R. Signs Labor's Magna Charta

A SENATE COMMITTEE led by Sen. Robert M. LaFollette Jr., of Wisconsin (lower left) investigated the Memorial Day Massacre and other violations of workmen's civil liberties in 1936 and 1937. Their report shocked the nation. It revealed that thousands of respected corporations had hired labor spies to thwart union organization. A group of firms including General Motors were found to have spent over $9 million for firearms, spies and strikebreakers. This showed employers' callous indifference to the National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt two years before (upper right). The Wagner Act, sponsored by Sen. Robert F. Wagner, of New York, and often called "Labor's Magna Charta," provided, among other things, secret ballot elections (upper left) for workmen choosing their union. Industrial relations remained relatively stable through World War II and the post-war years. Workers made many gains.

Pathway to Community Progress

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING—Recognition of the UAW meant recognition of the worker as a person and citizen. It gave him a voice, a face on and off the job. Before, he had been on the receiving end of management decisions, a passive victim of economic forces. Now he was at the bargaining table, with the leverage to lift himself and his family into a better, fuller life. His gains in income, security and dignity spurred gains by other workers everywhere. The picket signs tell only the partial story of the gains made by UAW members in their long struggle for social and economic justice. Arbitration, survivor benefits, bereavement pay, tuition refunds are examples of these historic gains. The UAW has successfully tied the bargaining table with the ballot box as in negotiating pensions and supplemental unemployment benefits. But beyond all these comes the self-respect and human dignity which collective bargaining assures to UAW members. Collective bargaining brought benefits to the whole community.

Bread, Freedom and Peace

TODAY'S CHILDREN—tomorrow's working men and women—will face a brighter future if we can realize the ideals originally set forth in the ICFTU slogan, "Bread, Freedom and Peace." The UAW, in furtherance of its efforts to forge new strength for democratic ideals, continues to encourage cultural, educational and worker to worker contact in all sections of the world. The UAW emphasizes a strategy for peace, for construction rather than destruction, for disarmament rather than armament. Of most significance to American labor is the International Metalworkers Federation, with 11½ million members from 57 countries. IMF's Automotive Department, headed by UAW President Leonard Woodcock, has organized World Councils in the automotive and agricultural implement industries to coordinate and harmonize workers' goals in these multi-national enterprises. Through the IMF, workers can better struggle for fair labor standards, a decent standard of living and the principle of international labor solidarity which can restore balance to collective bargaining with multinational corporations.

This Union Cause . . .

is also the title of a 23-minute film in color based upon the pictures here, united by a narrative.

The film was made primarily to provide an accurate and comprehensive, yet condensed, audio-visual history of the American labor movement.

Color versions of the film can be rented for showing at a nominal fee. The color version can be purchased for $145. Local unions purchasing it for placement in schools and libraries will receive a $25 price reduction. This film can be rented or bought through the UAW Education Department, 8000 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48214.

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